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The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.

[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 252] clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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614 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them.
539 Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them
776 names. They called one of them Wave on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original
[551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf*, *Green Hair*, *Gray Wolf*, and *Black Wolf*. When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon
● [823] some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

614 533

CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

cĕgwecĕgĕ' hĕ'ĕ'ĕ'ĕrĕdĕnĕra (WOLF CLAN)*

614 Cĕgwecĕhĕn.....Hunting dog.
551 Cĕgĕtrenĕ'ĕ.....Wolf.
Regedwiga.....Wolf (archaic name).

*The following names are from the Dorsey list.

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614 [764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[823 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges. One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WAKUKEÏ HIK'IK'ARANJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 551
Ho-adaja°jank'a.....Shining horns.
Hena°pga.....Two horns.
Hep'i°winga.....Handsome horn.
Hoatcank'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a°ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a°hodja°pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma°i°dnip'i°winga.....Good cold spring.

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776
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[823]
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[551]

The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognise you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here.

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

Earthmaker. He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *waja'gi'ara*, he-who-makes-something; and *waxop'ai xoxera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (*cf.* for instance, the *wak'djak'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[1] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herecgunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.)

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to represent the four cardinal points.

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[1] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. XI, no. 135.

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2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) loading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "ho o o" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east hand must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (8) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (8) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ūankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live.

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred."

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini." The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui-hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony.

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[a] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[b] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
778 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
535 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tail's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
● [823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
700 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

539 614 776 [823] he liked it, but it was not quiet. It moved about as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good. But even these did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass grow and still the earth was not quiet. It was however almost quiet. Then he created the four cardinal points and the four winds. At the four corners of the earth he placed them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, "As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over the earth. These four he

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

539 996 when he finished him he named him *Bladder*. To him he spoke, "*Bladder*, you are to go to the earth. As my last thought I created the two-legged-walkers and they were pitiful to behold in every way. They are now on the point of being exterminated and you must save them. Try with all your strength.

When *Bladder* came to the earth he made a long lodge and he created twenty men. That many younger brothers he thus had. Then they all started to go around the entire island, this earth, and all the younger brothers were killed. [823] Thus he too failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do he failed to accomplish and so Earthmaker took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then Earthmaker made a fourth being and when he finished him he called him *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*.

Finally he created the last one, *Hare*. He made his body exactly like ours. He spoke to him: "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, *Hare*." *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings* had failed, so *Hare* was created. He was to be the last one. Earthmaker had created *Hare* entirely by the force of his thoughts.

Then he spoke to *Hare* and said, "*Hare*, what I am doing you will also be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If the evil spirits injure my creation it will not be good on earth; life will not be good. Try to overcome these evil spirits." Thus he encouraged him.

When *Hare* came to this earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a certain way and failed." He walked along until he came to an oval lodge. From this lodge there emerged, at the time, a young woman carrying a pail. She was going toward the river. Then *Hare* said to himself, "Now my brothers were not able to do what I

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man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I encouraged you so much! Now, grandson, decay and death can in no way be taken back." 539 776

Around the earth they went, to the edge of the fire that stretches on each side of the earth. They united these two lines of fire so that human beings might attain old age. [823]

"To look back she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind as to the immortality of my uncles and my aunts. When they become like me then only will I be happy. Such is my thought."

Then he went out and walked to the lodge of the spirit who lives in the east where the sun rises. Opposite him he sat down. "Well, *Hare*, there is nothing I can do for you. If the spirit ahead of me has anything he wishes to tell you, undoubtedly he will do so." Then *Hare* greeted him and went out.

He traveled toward the west. Even then he had no other thought in his head except that he would succeed. When he arrived at the lodge of the second spirit, the latter spoke to him and said, "*Hare*, what you have come for I know, but if the spirits ahead of me could say nothing how can I, the least of all of them, do so?"

Then *Hare* greeted him and left. He started for his home and arrived there crying, "My aunts and uncles must not die, they must not die!" And then he thought, "To all things death will come." He cast his thoughts upon the precipices, and they began to crumble and cave in. He cast his thoughts upon the rocks, and they began to crumble. Under the earth he cast his thoughts, and all the beings that were living there stopped moving and their limbs stiffened in death. Up above he cast his thoughts and the birds fell down dead.